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First and second cousins, if parallel, used sibling terms for one another in both reference and address.⁶⁰¹

- 8 *yupi*: elder brother, elder first and second male parallel cousin, spouse's elder brother, elder sister's husband, spouse's elder sister's husband. This and the following sibling terms were employed only in address.
- 9 *aki*: younger brother, younger first and second male parallel cousin, spouse's younger brother, younger sister's husband, spouse's younger sister's husband.
- 10 *sapo*: elder sister, elder first and second female parallel cousin, spouse's elder sister, elder brother's wife, spouse's elder brother's wife.
- 11 *malapa* (or *matirpe* or *turesh*): younger sister (male speaking), younger first and second female parallel cousin (male speaking), wife's younger sister, younger brother's wife (male speaking), wife's younger brother's wife.
- 12 *malaki*: younger sister (female speaking), younger first and second female parallel cousin (female speaking), husband's younger sister, younger brother's wife (female speaking), husband's younger brother's wife.
- 13 *usata irwak* (or *shine irwak esap utari*): parallel cousin. Patrilineal parallel cousins were also called by such terms as *shine onaha epeka ir-utar*, *shine onaha esap utar* (cf. 7 above), *shine onaha esap ir-utar*, *shine onaha epeka utar*, and *onaha epeka ir-irwak*. The first term, as well as *kanna samma ir-utar* and *kanna samma ir-irwak*, also had the meaning of patrilineal second parallel cousin. Matrilineal parallel cousins were also called by such terms as *shine unuku epeka ir-utar*, *shine unuku esap utar* (cf. 7 above), *shine unuku esap ir-utar*, *shine unuku epeka utar*, *unuku epeka ir-irwak*, and *mat sammani ir-irwak*. The first of these terms, together with *popke samma u-ir-kar* and *popke samma ir-irwak*, also had the meaning of matrilineal second parallel cousin.
- 14 *onaha epeka irwak ne utar* (or *onaha epeka apanu utar*): patrilineal cross-cousin.
- 15 *unuku epeka irwak ne utar* (or *unuku epeka apanu utar*): matrilineal cross-cousin.
- 16 *po* (or *ku-poko*): son, stepson, or foster son (used in address and during childhood only). When a son had grown up, he was addressed by his given name. Sugiura (1954) does not report terms of reference for son or daughter, but he does state that stepchildren and foster children were called by the same terms as own children.
- 17 *matne-po* (or *ku-matne-poko*): daughter, stepdaughter, or foster daughter (used in address and during childhood only). When a daughter became adult, she was addressed by her given name.
- 18 *karku*: nephew, i.e., son of a brother, of a sister, or of a parallel cousin.
- 19 *matkarku*: niece, i.e., daughter of a sibling or parallel cousin.
- 20 *mispo*: grandchild of either sex.
- 21 *san-mispo*: great-grandchild.
- 22 *hoku* (or *hokuku*): husband (in reference only). In address, a woman called her husband *tan-kur* (this person), *tan-kur* (that person), or *ku-kor-nishpa* (master).
- 23 *machi* (or *machiki*): wife (in reference only). A husband addressed his wife by her given name, but in old age might call her *ku-kor-menoko*, *ku-kor-machi*, or *ku-kor-machiki*. A person of either sex might also refer to his or her spouse as *ku usonap*, *hekote-kur*, or *uomnu-kur*. A term of respect for someone else's wife was *a-kor-kattemat*, meaning "your lady."
- 24 *shiuto akapo* (or *shiuto ekashi*): father-in-law. *Shiuto* is the Japanese term for father-in-law.
- 25 *shiuto unarpe* (or *shiuto huchi*): mother-in-law.
- 26 *kokou* (or *ku-kokowr*): son-in-law.
- 27 *koshmat* (or *ku-koshmachi*): daughter-in-law.

In this terminological structure three major themes can be discerned. The first is the stress placed on the sibling relationship, as may be observed in the usages of various kinship terms. For example, the reference term *irwak* was extended from "brothers (male speaking)" in the narrowest sense to "sisters (female speaking)" and then to cousins. Similarly, address terms for siblings (*yupi*, *aki*, etc.) were also extended to cousins and to many categories of affinals

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593 The term for brothers by the same father, *shine onaha epeka ir-utar*,
 601 was extended to patrilineal parallel cousins and to second patri-
 605 lateral parallel cousins. On the female side, the term for sisters by
 the same mother was used in reference to matrilineal parallel cousins,
 both first and second.

601 It may be noted that this classificatory treatment of unilateral
 609 parallel cousins as siblings was not accompanied among the Ainu by
 a corresponding classificatory treatment of kinsmen of the parental
 generation. In other words, parallel cousins called one another
 brothers and sisters, but their respective parents were not treated as
 classificatory parents. Instead, they remained uncles and aunts. For
 example, a female Ego and her female matrilineal parallel cousin's
 son called each other aunt (*unarpe*) and nephew (*karku*) rather than
 mother and son.

601 The second major theme discernible in the terminology is sug-
 gested in some of the examples, namely, the separation of kinsmen
 on the basis of the sex of Ego or of connecting relatives. The starting
 point of this separation was the distinction between brothers and
 sisters: *irwak* referred to siblings of the same sex, those of the opposite
 sex being referred to as "relatives" (*shine utari*). Also, brothers by
 the same father were grouped together under one designation and
 were distinguished from those by different fathers, and so were sisters
 by the same and different mothers. This distinction, again, manifests
 [605] itself in the separation of (1) parallel cousins from cross-cousins, (2)
 patrilineal parallel cousins from matrilineal parallel cousins, and (3)
 second unilateral parallel cousins from other second cousins.

614 This sex-based distinction leads to the third theme: the grouping
 together of patrilineally related males, who were called *shine ekashi*
esap utar, and the comparable grouping of matrilineally related
 females, who were called *shine huchi esap utar*. Separation between
 brothers and sisters in the use of the term *irwak* and the grouping of
 brothers by the same father and of sisters by the same mother are
 some of the mechanisms through which this "unisexual" grouping was
 accomplished. This theme leads us to a discussion of the principal
 characteristic of the Ainu kinship organization, namely, that men
 were organized into patrilineal descent groups, known as *ekashi ikir*,
 and women into separate matrilineal descent groups known as *huchi*
ikir.

PATRILINEAL AND MATRILINEAL DESCENT GROUPS

611 It is clear that the patrilineal and matrilineal groups differed
 614 from the usual unilineal descent group in their inclusion of unilineally
 related individuals of one sex only.⁴ This unusual structural arrange-
 ment involved no difficulties so far as the recruitment and affiliation
 of members were concerned, for the patrilineal group claimed only
 its members' sons as new recruits and the matrilineal group only its
 members' daughters, and a given individual was member of only one
 descent group. Thus the overlapping membership and divided